

The Anti-Slavery Bugle.

BENJAMIN S. JONES, EDITOR.

"NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS."

ANN PEARSON, PUBLISHING AGENT.

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WHAT EWING SAYS.

[The Republican party of 1860 has become conservative, that Thomas Ewing can now join its forces, and advocate Lincoln's election. In a late speech at Chillicothe, he gave his views of the position of the party. After alluding to the rapprochement when fanatical cœurs prevailed in the party, he thus discourses.]

In Ohio extreme men ruled and seemed to be the majority, but they never were so. As in an effort, venting fluid, all seems foam to those who look only on its surface, so did this element seem to be of all the party opposed to the repeal of the Missouri compromise, while in truth its strength lay in the calm, conservative Whig mass, which remained inactive below. As examples in our own state, of extreme party action, witness the attack last year upon the independence of the judiciary in the person of Judge Swan—the refusal of the Legislature last winter, when the subject was before them, to pass a law to prohibit the forming or fitting out of marauding expeditions into our sister States, and the refusal of our Executive to surrender fugitives from justice—pursuant to the requirements of the Constitution, of which indeed, stated that this party was engaged in a conflict which must be, in fact and deed, irreconcileable, as long as it and the Union both endured; and that the organic law of the republic had been superseded by a higher or lower law—namely, the individual will, dominant in the minds of excited men.—Such was the condition of things which caused me to stand aloof from the party, the objects of whose original organization I approved, and to advance what objects I labored afterwards out of the party exclusively, and I have reason to believe, effectively.

But I looked for a reaction, and it has come—Conservative men, law-abiding men, could not suffer the excesses of the time to go ahead under their apparent sanction and remain inactive. The reaction presented itself in a two-fold aspect. Out of the party, by the Union organization in the North—in the party, by the rejection of extreme party leaders and the nomination of a sound conservative man for President at the late Chicago Convention.

The resolutions of the Chicago Convention—the platform—is better than we have been accustomed to, in speech and resolve, for four or five years past—better in its positions, much better in tone and temper. It quite rejects the heresy that any law applicable to the civil government of our Union is higher than the Constitution of the United States. It condemns in strong terms the organization of marauding expeditions in any of the States to attack the people or the institutions of neighboring States—a thing which the Ohio Legislature had so recently refused to declare unlawful; and in its whole tone and temper, counsels peace and mutual respect of each other's rights between States, instead of the maintenance of a continual and irreconcileable conflict. It also has discovered and declared that the cause has no mission other than that of perpetual war over Slavery. And especially it advances sound old Whig doctrine as to the fostering care which Government owes to the industry of its people. This suits me well. It is a recourse to first principles—a strong assurance that the party, as it now exists, intends to build up and preserve, and not to destroy.

But I do not think the adoption of a portion of the Declaration of Independence in very good taste, and such, indeed, seemed to be the opinion of a majority of the Convention; but beyond that it is quite unimportant. The clause adopted is this, in the vague and general sense in which it was used by the framers of the Declaration, who were, three-fourths of them, slaveholders. And in that sense it seems to have been taken by the Convention; for if not, it would be inconsistent with their other resolves, which assert in express terms the absolute right of States, slave and free, over their domestic institutions.

I object to the eighth resolution. The proposition that "the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of freedom," is not true in point of fact. The rule, the norm which is announced by the proposition, must apply, if it has any meaning, to the territory as it existed at the time of the formation of the Constitution.

Slavery existed under and by the law of nearly all the States and in all the Territories, except the Territory northwest of the river Ohio; and as to the after acquired territory, the normal

ment it became the property of the United States, and Louisiana, all that is now in question, was then slave territory. The framers of the Constitution had no conception of this "normal condition". When they willed that the North-Western territory should be free, it was so declared by the adoption of the ordinance of 1787 with its prohibitory clause as binding under the Constitution.—The South-Western Territory was left to Slavery, just where the laws of North Carolina and Georgia had held it. The ships sailing under the flag and carrying papers under the seal of the United States, attesting their nationality, are, wherever they may sail on the high seas, part and parcel of the territories of the United States, and under the dominion, pure and unmixed, of her Constitution and laws.

Now who would be bold enough to contend that prior to the year 1808, while the Constitution forbade the abolition of the Slave trade, that the "normal condition" of the ships which bore the slaves was "that of freedom"? Surely they had no condition whatever except that which the Constitution, and the laws passed under it, created. I feel it clear to a demonstration that the proposition as to the "normal condition" of the territories of the United States in its most general or more restricted sense cannot be maintained. The other branch of the resolution, namely, the proposition, that Congress has but a limited power over Slavery in the Territories, though advanced by the Chicago Convention in this eighth resolution, by the Breckinridge Convention in their second resolution, and sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Dred Scott vs. Sandford, does not command the assent of my judgment. But if the proposition that the power of the United States over the Territories is limited in that particular be true, the Breckinridge Convention and the Supreme Court of the United States have the best of the argument, to say nothing of authority. But, with all my habitual deference and respect for that Court, and I think second to none in the world for the qualities which give weight and dignity to a judicial tribunal, I cannot divest myself of the opinion that it errred on this point, which was quite unnecessary to the decision of the case.

Their error, in my judgment, consists in considering slaves as property merely, instead of considering master and slave as relations, which in our artificial systems man holds to men. The latter is the view taken of it in the Constitution of the United States. Slaves, in that instrument, are not treated as property, any more than minor children, understandings, or men bound by contract to perform a labor. Under the Constitution, property is not represented—persons owing service are—in this their law treat them not as property. If property escape from one State and go into another, the Constitution does not direct that it shall be delivered up. If persons owing service, it does so direct. Congress is empowered to regulate commerce between the States—Commerce has to do with property. The States exercise the sole power of admitting or prohibiting the importation from other States of persons owing service. Congress has the express power to regulate foreign commerce, but is denied the power until the year 1808 to prohibit the immigration or importation into any of the States now existing, of such persons as the said State shall think proper to admit. This implies the power to prohibit their importation into any new State or into any Territory, and the argument also involves this dilemma; if slaves are property merely under the Constitution, Congress can prohibit their importation into any Territory by virtue of its power to regulate commerce between the States. If they be not property but persons, the power of the sovereign (which the Supreme Court says Congress is) to regulate and fix the relation of man to man in the Territory is without any limitation, expressed or implied. Congress has, in this point of view, the same power to prohibit slavery, as far as property exists in the labor of the slave, as it would have to make the son free at twenty instead of twenty-one, thus depriving the father of one year of his labor. And I have so much confidence in the high character and elevated feeling and sense of justice of the Court, that I do not doubt the question will be reconsidered when a new case arises, if it ever do arise, which shall require its application.

But, if we admit, with the eight resolution of the Chicago Convention, that the power of Congress is limited in the Territories over that—our special subject matter—I know not where to find an argument potent enough to resist the conclusion of the Supreme Court, sustained as it is by high judicial authority.

No vague generalities will avail anything on either side. No general purpose of gradual emancipation strong enough to affect the question can be found written down in the constitution—none to satisfy the legal mind that they were intended to aid Congress the power to admit slavery in the Territories, when such generality, as if any bear that aspect, is found side by side with that clause forbidding Congress to prohibit the slave trade for twenty years. Nor do I think it safe to infer from this, the same power to prohibit slavery, as far as property exists in the labor of the slave, as it would have to make the son free at twenty instead of twenty-one, thus depriving the father of one year of his labor. And I have so much confidence in the high character and elevated feeling and sense of justice of the Court, that I do not doubt the question will be reconsidered when a new case arises, if it ever do arise, which shall require its application.

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He that gives good advice, builds with one hand; he that gives good counsel and example, builds with both; but he that gives good admonition and good example, builds with one hand and pulls down with the other.

ELI THAYER RUNNING A MUCK.

The following is a copy of Mr. Thayer's letter accepting the invitation of some gentlemen in his district to be a candidate for re-election to Congress:

"Gentlemen: Your letter, accompanied by the request of some five hundred other Republicans, that I would allow them to place me before the people as a candidate for the office of representative to Congress from this district at the ensuing Congressional election, has just been received. Who can realize that the workings of that mighty mind have ceased—that the throbings of that gallant heart are still, that the mighty sweep of that graceful arm will be felt no more, and the magic of that eloquent tongue, which spoke so sweetly to other tongues, is hushed, hushed forever? Who can realize that freedom's champion, the champion of a civilized world, and of all tongues and kindreds, and people, has fallen? Also: in those dark hours of peril and dread, which our land has experienced, and which she may be called to experience again—to whom now may her people look up to for that counsel and advice which only wisdom and experience, and patriotism can give, and which only the undoubting confidence of a nation will receive?

"But Henry Clay is dead. His long and eventful life is closed. Our country is prosperous and powerful; but could it have been quite all it has been, and is, and is to be, without Henry Clay? Such a man as times have demanded, and such is the Providence of God, was given us. But although his form is lifeless, his name will live and be loved and reverenced in both hemispheres. For it is

"One of the few, the immortal names,

That were not born to die."

NEGRO SUFFRAGE AND WAR ON NATURALIZED CITIZENS.

The Democratic papers do up any amount of lying to induce the people to believe that the Republican party are in favor of negro suffrage, and extending the period of naturalization to foreigners. Under the Democratic Constitution of New York, negroes vote, and so they do in Louisiana. This is, then, a fair offset to their voting in several of the New England States, a right they have been entitled to for more than fifty years. There is no modern instance, we believe, of Republican legislation in favor of African suffrage. In New Hampshire, long a Democratic State, the Catholics were ineligible to sundry offices, and in most of the Southern Democratic States, a white man whether native or naturalized is forbidden to vote unless he has a property qualification. And yet, this party, have the effrontery to assert that the

"Democrats have suppressed every possible influence to disparage and misrepresent his acts, his principles and his motives. These persistent efforts to impair my influence and my usefulness have met me at every step of my progress in your service. If from these causes I have suffered unjustly, my constituents have suffered even more. The blow aimed at your representatives have fallen upon his constituency. I am happy now to have an opportunity to submit this whole matter to the judgment of the people of this district.

With me, neither parties, nor party discipline, have any authority or responsibility when they come in conflict with truth and justice. As I stood upon the floor of Congress in defense of my own convictions, and in defiance of the authority of party, so I do here and everywhere, now and always, a free man. I confide in a few people.

"I do, therefore, with my whole heart, accept the nomination, coming as it does from the sovereign power, and therefore of higher significance and authority than any nomination made by the servants of a party organization. This is a nomination of the very highest authority, and is wholly congenial to my political ideas and principles. If the people desire me to represent them longer in Congress, they will put it by their votes. Whatever be their decision, I shall be content with it as an expression of that popular sovereignty which I contend is the birthright of American citizens. With the highest regard, I remain,

Your obedient servant,

ELI THAYER,
Worcester, September 17, 1860.

We commend to the Analytic the following specimen brick of the party material of which is built the support given to it in "Cold Water Tickets"—We copy from the New York State League.

NOTORIOUS DISCOVERY.

We often hear of a land sought that flamed with milk and honey, but who ever thought of a land whose fountain should send forth beer well charged with that spirit that inspires modern statesmen; but such a fountain burst forth in our midst in the old Methodist Church in the Eighth Ward, Tuesday evening, 15th inst., while the gallant sons of freedom were assembled in the capacity of a Wide Awake meeting. These young Republicans found it just in time to cheer their drooping spirits as they thought of going home in the wee hours of morning. It happened as opportune as the rock that Moses, that great champion of freedom, struck in the wilderness. With a hearty good will these bright stars of America drank the beverage, (it would make one think of a devil's sacrament if it was not in a church.)

After having imbibed freely of the spirit, the idea struck them that this barrel was Douglas' last mother. After some consultation they formed in procession and carried the old lady about the city, and the morning found her exhausted in spirit on the steps of a house where the noisy pack had knocked at the door, but could not find a better resting place for their previous burden. They say the lady of the house, with true woman's spirit, kicked it off the step.

It is understood that this beverage flows freely at the wigwam to tempt our unwary sons. Shall they be sacrificed? Will it pay? Mothers be careful how your darlings mingle with modern politicians in these patriotic gatherings—or are you aware the fangs of this inviolate destroyer (Intemperance) will have poisoned the life-blood of the dear ones that gather around your home.

Christians, do you know that your dear Republican party is fostering this monster, and that poor

honest aspirants contribute largely to bind together these organizations to secure nominations? Such a state of affairs is a disgrace to our common humanity, and a poor remuneration for our popular religion.

Will you be governed by rowdism? or will you arise and put on true manhood and redeem our beloved country from this reign of terror?

REPUBLICANISM.

The following passage is from an "Address of the Free Constitutionalists," and gives their views of the morality and efficiency of the Republican party.

"Of all these factions, the Republicans is the most thoroughly sensible, bairless, simple, inconsistent, and insincere. It has no constitutional principles to stand upon, and it lives up to no moral ones. It aims at nothing for itself, and is sure to accomplish it. The other factions have at least the merits of frankness and consistency. They are openly on the side of slavery, and make no hypocritical grimaces at supporting it. The Republicans, on the other hand, are double-faced, double-tongued, hypocritical, and inconsistent to the last degree. We speak now of their present and public men. Duplicity and deceit seem to be regarded by them as their only available capital. This results from the fact that the faction consists of two wings, one favorable to liberty, the other to slavery; neither of them strong enough for success; and neither of them honest enough to submit to present defeat for their principles. How to keep these two wings together until they shall have succeeded in disuniting the evils and power of office, is the great problem with the managers. The plan adopted is, to make, on the one hand, the most desperate efforts to prove that their consequences and all their moral sentiments are opposed to slavery, and that they will do every thing they conveniently can, against it; and, on the other, to make equally desperate efforts to prove that they have the most decided reverence for the constitution, and that the constitution gives them no power whatever to interfere with slavery in the States. So they cry to us in power, and we are to make perfect safety to slavery—for constitutionally we can do nothing against it, where it is."

It is lucky for these Jesuitical dæmons that there happen to be, bordering upon the United States, certain wilderness regions, over which the United States claim exclusive ownership. This gives them an opportunity to make a show of bringing up to their professions, by appearing to be on a terrible war against slavery, outside the United States, where it is not, while, within the United States, where there would be nothing. Robust in the entire slave oligarchy being members of the Republican faction, in full communion. There is nothing in the political creed of the latter, that really need stick at all in the throats of the former; and the Republicans themselves, or, at least, a large portion of them, would, no doubt, be very much delighted by such an accession to their numbers.

"The Suppression of the Slave Trade" appears to be becoming one of their party watchwords—but, if southern juries will neither indict, nor convict, how is the slave trade to be suppressed? According to the Republican interpretation of the constitution, the slave oligarchy are just as good citizens of the United States, exercising only their constitutional rights, as are the Republicans themselves. Indeed, there would be nothing robust in the entire slave oligarchy being members of the Republican faction.

Still another specimen of the hypocrisy of this faction, is to be found in its name. It has taken to itself the name of Republicans. They are great sticklers for the constitution, and many of them, of strict constructionists, at that. The word, "Republican," is found but once in the constitution, and we are bound to presume that this constitutional party have chosen their name with reference to the significance of that word in the constitution.

But do they propose to guarantee to every State in the Union a republican form of government?—a government that shall secure to all the citizens of the United States, within the States, the protection of the law, or legally may be, overborne by local or sectional laws, and that the entire territory of the nation be given up to sectional slavery?

If there be any territory, within the United States, in regard to which this assumed national law of freedom is paramount, it can be, at most, only the District of Columbia, and a few places occupied as forts, arsenals, &c., over which Congress has "exclusive legislation"—places which are but as pin-points on the map of the nation.

And yet this false, absurd, self-contradictory, and ridiculous motto, which really means nothing for freedom, but gives up the whole nation to slavery, if the sections (States) so choose, has already had a long life, as expressing one of the cardinal principles of the Republican faction.

Take, for example, "Freedom National, Slavery Sectional." This is both an absurd and a falsehood, on its face, for how can freedom be national, so long as any section of the nation can be given up to slavery? "Freedom National" to have any sense, implies a paramount law for freedom pervading the whole nation. But, in the mouths of the Republicans, "Freedom National, Slavery Sectional," means simply that, for territory outside of the United States, there is a paramount national law, that requires, or, at least, permits, liberty; while, within the United States, this national law is, or legally may be, overborne by local or sectional laws, and that the entire territory of the nation be given up to sectional slavery.

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responsible either for numbers, or as representatives of southern sentiment, have ever attempted to carry this doctrine of *State Rights* so much lengths, in behalf of slavery, as it is here conceded to them by the pretended friends of liberty. In fact, these men have been stamping, for years, to rival, at least, if not to outdo, even southern men, in their advocacy of this treacherous doctrine of "State Rights." And they have at length succeeded in absolutely outdoing them. And their nature has been, that they might gain the reputation of being champions of liberty at the north, and at the same time avoid the necessity of performing any services for liberty at the south, where alone any real service was needed.

It is of no avail, as a defense for the Republicans, to say, that, in another resolution, at Chicopee, they declared—

"That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the federal constitution, is essential to the preservation of our Republican institutions; that the federal constitution, the rights of the States, and the union of the States, must and shall be preserved; and that we reassert 'those truths to be self-evident,—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.'"

"That these shameless men stood out, and striped himself before the eyes of all people, and labored, in their presence, to cover himself all over with this moral and political filth, in order to deaden the hated odors of liberty, humanity and justice, which he feared might still clinging to him, as relics of his former professions (and principles, if he ever had any), and thereby fit himself, if possible, to become the candidate of his faction. And the infamous character of the faction itself is to be inferred from the fact, that all this self-delusion, on his part, was unsuccessful to secure for them their confidence. They feared that at least the smell of liberty might still be upon him; and, therefore, fixed their choice upon one, who, if not more clear of all real love for freedom, was at least less suspect of any such disqualification.

What we have supposed to be true of Mr. Seward, we have good reason to believe to be also true of several, perhaps many, other Republican members of Congress, viz., that, believing the slaves in this country to be, in the view of the constitution of the United States, full citizens of the United States, equally with themselves, they nevertheless, for the sake of gaining power, publicly acknowledge and declare their enslavement to be constitutional, and that the general government has no authority to liberate them.

We have recently been told, on high Republican authority, that slavery is a "five-headed monster." Well, be it so. How do the Republicans propose to combat this "five-headed monster?" We think we have shown that they propose to combat it only as impostors, that is to say, slaves. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

It is of no avail that they declare these principles, in one breath, when, in the next, they declare the salutary rights of the States to reduce men to bondage. That they should assert such opposite principles, only proves what unblushing hypocrites and liars they are; and that they are ready to sacrifice any principles whatever, from the extreme of liberty, to the extreme of slavery, if they can thereby conciliate or deceive the two opposite wings of their faction, and keep them together until their object of gaining possession of the government of the country shall be attained.

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wings of their faction, and keep them together

until their object of gaining possession of the government of the country shall be attained.

We have recently been told, on high Republican authority, that slavery is a "five-headed monster."

Well, be it so. How do the Republicans propose to combat this "five-headed monster?"

We think we have shown that they propose to combat it only as impostors, that is to say, slaves.

That to secure these rights, governments are

instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed,

to the extent of all the time, they declare the salutary rights of the States to reduce men to bondage.

That they should assert such opposite

principles, only proves what unblushing hypocrites and liars they are;

and that they are ready to sacrifice any principles whatever, from the extreme of

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THE ANTI-SLAVERY BUGLE.

FROM ALL ULTRASIM, GOOD LORD DELIVER US!"

EXTRA BUGLE.

John Jay thinking that the Convention of the Episcopal Church in New York might possibly feel disposed to condemn what even this nation has declared to be piracy, offered the following resolution, and though he was able to give his views in a speech supporting them, they were laid upon the table by a large majority, and the character of that body for respectable conservatism remains undimmed by any taint of ultricism.

Whereas, The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States have, through their Board of Foreign Missions, established missions on the coast of Africa, and this Convention feels a strong interest in the success of the said Missions as the means for the conversion of Africa to the principles and practices of Christianity. And whereas, it has been made appear to this Convention that a class of persons residing in the Diocese of New York are engaged in sending vessels to the Western Coast of Africa, with the view of kidnapping and reducing to Slavery large numbers of the said people; and it is publicly pretended and asserted that the doctrine of Christianity justifies and approves of the enslaving of men, women and children, and reducing them to the condition of chattels; and there is good reason to believe that the said trade will interfere materially with the said Mission, and that a belief on the part of the Africans that those who engage in the African slave trade are Christians, may indispose the Africans to believing in Christianity, and lead them to reject with scorn and indignation the teaching of our missionaries. Therefore

Resolved, That this Convention in order to prevent all misapprehension in regard to the position of the Church in this Diocese on the subject of the slave trade, do hereby declare and announce that the Convention do utterly reject the doctrine that men may be lawfully kidnapped and held in Slavery by any other person, and do utterly condemn the said practice as a great sin against God and man; and do adopt, in regard thereto the words of St. Cyprian, in writing to the Bishop of Numidia, "Both religion and humanity make it a duty for us to work for the deliverance of the captive."

"It is Jesus Christ, himself, whom we ought to consider in our captive brother. It is Him whom we should deliver from captivity—Him who hath delivered us from death."

Mr. Jay was frequently interrupted in the delivery of his remarks, by the discussion of points of order, which the Bishop decided in Mr. Jay's favor, at the same time appealing to the Convention to maintain silence, as well as by the disorderly behavior of a number of members who left the house with such noise and confusion, as to distract some minutes to interrupt the quiet of the convention.

These interruptions continued until a late hour, compelled some stragglings of the speech of the deliverer. On concluding, some discussion was had by several gentlemen, including the Rev. Dr. Vinton, who appealed to Mr. Jay to withdraw his resolutions. This Mr. Jay distinctly declined to do.

The Rev. Mr. Leonard then moved that they be laid on the table, and the vote, by orders, being called for, the vote stood:

Clergy—Years 54 Laity—Years 54

Nays 6 Nays 6

TWEDEDEUM AND TWEDEDEEK.

The Douglass candidate for State's Attorney in Illinois, has shown his intention to support Lincoln. He says:—

"I would willingly support Douglass, but a further support of him can have no other effect than of carrying the election into the House of Representatives, which will either elect Breckinridge or, if the House shall fail to elect by the 4th of March, it is probable the Senate will elect Joe Lane, who becomes President of the United States. And Lane will only be a tool in the hands of the Confederacy to accomplish their one idea of breaking up the confederacy and creating the slave States, together with our western country, into a separate and independent government."

We have a strong impression that in Illinois, where Douglass and Lincoln are both well known, voters can find but little choice between them so far as either principles or measures are concerned.

Illinois is the object to view; and should Illinois vote a week after all the other States, she would give a tremendous majority for the successful candidate, whether it chance to be Douglass or Lincoln, caring not for the men, or the platforms they are supposed to stand upon, or the principles which, by a political fiction, they are presumed to represent, but looking only to success, which means position, perquisites, and pecuniary. And there are other States beside Illinois which would do the same thing:

THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT!

THE WESTERN CONVENTION.

The Western series of Conventions will be convened as fast and as far as possible; that at Anoka on the sixth, and seventh, to be followed by similar or better, in Illinois, Wisconsin and Iowa, with other meetings to be addressed by Parker Pillsbury, Edwin B. Brown and Mrs. Josephine Grinnell. Let every abolitionist resolve to have some part and lot in the first series of connected Anti-slavery enterprises ever attempted in the States mentioned above.

Particulars will be announced as to times and places, by hand bills and through the papers as fast as arrangements can be completed.

"Colored persons," not being citizens of the United States, cannot preempt land. Is it right that these and other classes should be forever excluded from acquiring a title to public land for the benefit of another favored class who have had six years in which to pick the very best?—*Indiana Citizen Statesman*.

This is one of the objections of the Statesman to a postponement of the land sales. "Negroes cannot preempt," and unless the land is offered, negroes cannot buy. White men must sacrifice their all, to pay for their land, so that the Negro can get a foot-hold in Kansas. So says the Negro-loving Organ.

The commentary upon the text of the Statesman is from the *Council Grove Press*, one of the Republican papers of Kansas. "All men are created equal, and endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

TRAITS IN THE REPUBLICAN CAMP.—The *Pike County Democrat* in a recent chapter of advice to voters says, "Loyalty will be the shelf till after election." Any party man who would utter such a statement as that, may justly be suspected of treachery to his party. Should the Republicans of Portage follow this advice, they would hardly cast enough ballots to be returned as scattering.

G. W. We have not the papers on hand you desire, but will send others that will answer your purpose.

Each person whose name is on the list of those who pledged themselves to obtain a specified number of subscribers to the Bugle, will be furnished, on application, with Ten copies of the Extra for each subscriber promised; or rather, we will agree to furnish them as long as copies of the extra remain on hand. Those who wish to be certain of receiving them, had better make speedy application. We will mail the paper to any list of names those entitled to the extra choose to furnish, upon the receipt of one cent for each name, in order to prepay the postage, or will send them otherwise as directed, the applicant paying express or other charge of transportation.

THE NEGRO.

We are asked why do we talk of negroes. Because they won't let us alone. Douglass poked at us when he moved to repeat the Missouri Compromise. Why, its like a cross dog a fellow once had. He was perpetually flying across the road with open jaws at travellers. One neighbor who had been frequently frightened by the dog, one day determined to abate the nuisance. He took a sharp poker, and true to his habit, the dog came bolting out at him, with mouth distended and fangs displayed. His intended victim watched his chance, and jabbed the poker down the dog's throat pinching him to the bone, his owner came tearing out of the house crying "you've killed my dog." Why didn't you take the poker by 'other end'?" "Why didn't the dog come 'other end first'?" was the reply. Now slavery is like this dog. It comes at us opened mouthed, threatening to destroy. Let it come 'other end first, and we'll treat it kindly."

The Republican party is not the nigger party. We are the white man's party. Its the Democrats who are the nigger party."

The above is Gen. Carey's estimate of the philanthropy and anti-slavery character of the Republi-

cans. Don't let your big dog bite us, or threaten to bite us, and we will treat him kindly. Let him bite bigger if he will; that is no concern of ours, for "we are the white man's party."

"It is Jesus Christ, himself, whom we ought to consider in our captive brother. It is Him whom we should deliver from captivity—Him who

had delivered us from death."

Mr. Jay was frequently interrupted in the delivery of his remarks, by the discussion of points of order, which the Bishop decided in Mr. Jay's favor, at the same time appealing to the Convention to maintain silence, as well as by the disorderly behavior of a number of members who left the house with such noise and confusion, as to distract some minutes to interrupt the quiet of the convention.

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SHAMEFUL.

Perhaps the eager crowd who gather at various points to obtain a glimpse of the expectant heir of the British throne, are not acquainted with the fact, that his mother, Queen Victoria, recently conferred the Order of Bath upon Edward Jordan, a negro, now Six Edward Jordan. It seems that such a man can be knighted in Monarchical England, while in Democratic America he is denied the right of citizenship, and not even permitted to carry an old mail bag filled with newspapers.

The Abolitionists.—The Indianapolis *Sentinel* speaks of Wm. Lloyd Garrison as a leading Republican. The Sentinel, doubtless knows that Mr. Garrison and his party are bitter opponents of Mr. Lincoln. The same is true of the Gerrit Smith abolitionists. Is it not remarkable that while the Republicans are in certain quarters constantly being stigmatized as abolitionists, the rest consist pure abolitionists, of all sorts, are everywhere secretly opposed to them!—*Indiana True Republican*.

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THE ANTI-SLAVERY BUGLE.

Miscellaneous.

BOTH SIDES.

A man in his carriage was riding along.
A gallily dressed with by his side;
In satire and lace she looked like a queen,
And like a king in his pride.

A wood-sawyer stood on the street as they passed,
The carriage and people he eyed.
And said, as he worked with his saw on a log,
"I wish I was rich and could ride."

The man in the carriage remarked to his wife—
"One thing I would give if I could—
I would give all my wealth for the strength and
the health

Of the man who saws the wood."

A pretty young maid, with a bundle of work,
Whose face as the morning was fair,
Was tramping along with a smile of delight,
While hemming a lace-reaching air.

She looked on the carriage—the lady she saw,
Arrived in apparel as fine,
And said in a whisper, "I wish from my heart
These satin and lace were mine."

The lady looked out on the maid with her work,
So fair in her crimson dress,
And said, "I'd relinquish possession and wealth
Her beauty and youth to possess."

Thus in this world, whatever our lot,
Our minds and our time we employ,
In longing and sighing for what we have not,
Ungrateful for what we enjoy.

We welcome the pleasure for which we have
sighed,
The heart has a void in it still,
Growing deeper and wider the longer we live,
That nothing but heaven can fill.

SERFDOM IN RUSSIA.

The attention of the friends of human freedom has been directed, of late years with uncommon interest, to Russia. Hope has been entertained that the gigantic system of servitude which has there existed for many ages was about to be abolished, and that Russia would then join the ranks of those nations whose example is such a powerful protest against every form of human slavery. These hopes have not yet been realized.—Whether they are likely to be so is very doubtful. The present Emperor, with the best intentions, finds himself surrounded by embarrassments and difficulties, and many, in fact, well-informed with regard to the condition of the Empire, are fully convinced that serf-emancipation must be one feature of a general reform in which the whole system of administration shall be changed. A few leading facts relating to this subject may interest our readers.

It will surprise some to learn that the number of serfs in the Russian Empire is almost twice as great as the entire population of the United States. There are twenty-two millions belonging to the Crown and the Imperial family, and twenty-two millions more who are private property; making forty-four millions in all. These are held for property as literally and really as are the negroes in the Southern States; although in one particular their condition is different, and more favorable. While they can be bought and sold, this is always in connection with the lands upon which they live, and which they are compelled to till. Thus there are not such separations of families, nor such disgraceful exposures in the auction shambles, as are seen in this country. The Russian serf, besides, receives for himself a certain portion of his yearly earnings. A specified portion goes to his owner, while the remainder he keeps for the support of himself and family. Some instances occur where the peasant, under this arrangement, saves money, although the principal advantage of this seems to be that it makes him a prey to government robbers, who bring against him mock charges, and compel him to save his life by parting with his money.

Under the most favorable circumstances it is a condition of hardship. The Russian serfs are absolutely owned by their masters, and are not recognized in any relation, as either men or citizens. They descend from father to son, as a part of the inheritance, or may be sold, along with the land they till, to pay the debts of any spendthrift. To say the least of such a condition, it is utterly at war with every idea of improvement or of the elevation of the laboring class. How the peasant of Russia became thus a slave, seems not wholly agreed among historians. It is supposed that when, in an early age, the people, who were at first a nomadic race like the Tartars, roaming from place to place in search of pasturage for their herds, began to turn their attention to a more settled way of living and to the cultivation of the soil, prisoners of war, debtors, and other helpless persons over whom the stronger class had the means of exercising power, were reduced to servitude and compelled to work for their usurping masters. In the tenth century slavery was recognized by law, however it may have been introduced. In 1592 the serf was attached to the soil. In 1597 the number was increased by a decree which forbade persons then laboring under a contract to leave the service of their employers even at the expiration of their term, and any one who had been thus in service for six months might be appropriated as bond-servants. At a later date the Empress Catherine laid the same heavy yoke on still other necks. Certain individuals induced her to decree that all persons laboring on the soil within a particular district, called Little Russia, should be from a certain date regarded as serfs.—The instigators of this contrived, by offering large wages, to draw a number of free persons to the district named, and placed them under employ. When the decree took effect these were all reduced to slavery, their first knowledge of the decree being the announcement of the fact that henceforth they and their posterity, forever were slaves. "One count," we are told, "a member of the council of State, obtained the favor of having two fine regiments of grenadiers encamped on his land at the critical moment, and he incorporated them with his agricultural serfs." These instances sufficiently indicate how it is that slavery exists in Russia.

The vast number of the serfs is not more surprising than the small number of the pro-

prietors. The sum total of the latter is placed at one hundred and sixteen thousand. Of these, five thousand are not owners of land; and yet they hold in their possession thirty thousand house-slaves, or slaves hired out. Between six and seven millions are divided amongst the highest nobility, numbering less than fifteen hundred. The most wretched of these unhappy creatures are those who belong to the poorest of the land owners who, to the number of about fifty thousand, own some twenty serfs each.—There is no tyrant like the little tyrant, who expends all the resources of a mean but impious nature upon a few miserable victims. These are barely hints, yet they may aid the reader in forming some idea of the subject. The difficulties which the Emperor finds meeting him in his efforts to effect a general emancipation are partly in the fact, that all those to whom he would look for the execution of his purposes are deeply interested in keeping things as they are, while the whole system of government is so constructed and managed as to make the Emperor—Autocrat though he be—powerless for anything really good. A late Russian author declares, and apparently with perfect truth, that the Emperor himself has no power, except for evil. He can terrify, torture, and banish, and might even bid heads fall at his pleasure, like any Khan in Central Asia; but he cannot administer justice, or reform the smallest abuse. Apparently, his only chance as regards self-emancipation, is to revolutionize the whole system of administration, and thus deliver both himself and his people from the usurpations and impositions of the aristocracy. The fear is that Alexander II. is not the man to carry through such an undertaking, however much he might desire the change. That he really intends the abolition of serfdom, no one doubts. And in this he only follows the example of both his father, the Emperor Nicholas, and his grandfather, Alexander I., both of whom, at times at least, contemplated the same. He is, too, a man of many virtues, truly devoted to his people, and anxious to secure their highest welfare. But he has strength of mind and purpose sufficient for a successful encounter with such difficulties as stand in his way? Those among his subjects who truly sympathize in his plans are allowed no access to him. In numerous instances they become obnoxious to the corrupt and tyrannical ministry, and are obliged to save their lives by voluntary exile. Many believe that no changes will be made except as the result of a revolution and a war of classes. Such a war among such a people would be hideous beyond description. Well it is for the world that there is One, higher than the highest, whose hands hold the reins of actual empire, and whose perfect mind guides all events toward ultimate good.—*Christian Times.*

From the Northern Independent.

GREAT RELIGIOUS FESTIVAL OF THE M. E. CHURCH IN BUFFALO
—**NEW MEANS OF GRACE—CLAM BAKE AND CHOWDER—DANCING.**

privately failed to get the programme of the dances.

"In the main grounds, the Union Cornet Band with their new instruments delighted the crowds with their music, while the Twilight Serenaders were kept musical all day long, by the voices of women and girls, who surrounded them with a rampart of charms, denying their egress without some specimen of their vocal attributes. The singers fairly made themselves hoarse with their efforts. All was hilarity and enjoyment throughout the afternoon, everybody appearing to be happy just in proportion as they had absorbed clams, (and here arises the question of the relation of good humor to baked clams.) Perhaps the gentleman who took the money at the gate will inform us. We call particular attention to this new social meteor, in consequence of hearing some gentlemen who never were considered musical, successfully attempting the Star Spangled Banner, with variations, about thirty rods from Clinton Forest, where a contraband lager had opened his wares. No one will be unkind enough to intimate that the music came from the lager. No!

! The festival altogether was a success, and has initiated a new order of excursions, which we hope will be followed up. The receipts at the gate were over four hundred dollars, we understand, and at the different booths, &c., several hundred dollars more. The proceeds are for the benefit of the Niagara Street Methodist Church, and will prove a great assistance to them in paying off the debt of the Church. The ladies particularly deserve the highest encomiums for their efforts and attempts to make the Festival a model one, and carrying it on to triumph.

"When we left at six o'clock, there were thousands on the ground, and load after load coming out."

Do you not think, Mr. Editor, that sinners must be incorrigibly impudent, who will not yield to these combined attractions, thrown around the cross of Christ? Do you think there can possibly be the least hope of one who still holds out, after the Church spreads her tables with "delicacies of all sorts"—not spiritual food unsavory by bodily appetite—but substantial luxuries, such as "clam bake and chowder," "ice-cream" and "sponge cake," with "handsome women" and "young and pretty damsels" for attendants, and the "Twilight Serenaders" and the "Union Cornet Band" to sing the invitation,

"Come sinners to the Gospel feast!"

We should like to "ask for information," if those who got to heaven in this way, will not have a different song to sing, from those who "denied themselves," came out from the world, and took up their cross, and followed Jesus?

Can any doubt, after reading the above account of an M. E. Church Festival, evidently intended to be complimentary, that we slandered the Church in our "New School Methodism," that we, and all who sympathize with us, should be expelled, without benefit of appeal?

B. T. ROBERTS.

THE LIFE GUAGE.

They err who measure life by years,
With false or thoughtless tongue;
Some hearts grow old before their time;
Others are always young.

Tis not the number of the lines
Go Life's fast filling page;

Tis not the pulse's added throb
Which constitute their age.

Some souls are serfs among the free,
While others nobly thrive;

They stand just where their fathers stood;

Dead even while they live!

Others, all spirit, heart and sense—

Their mysterious power

To live in thrills of joy or woe,

A twelvemonth in an hour!

Seize, then, the minutes as they pass—

The wof of Life is Thought!

Warm up the colors—let them glow,

With fire or fancy fraught,

Life to some purpose—make thy Life

A gift of use to thee!

A joy, a good, a golden hope,

A heavenly agony!

[The following remarks will apply to others, perhaps, besides Temperance reformers.]

From the Wisconsin Chief.

CANT COME.

"We need you here much. Can you not come? We have no church, but we will pledge you a school-house full and a most enthusiastic welcome."

The above is one of the many pressing invitations, to which we respond:

We have nearly twenty years of large investments in large meetings and enthusiastic welcomes. Both are gratifying to a friend of the cause, but like the boarder's pudding and milk, after fifty or sixty meals, become quite too common. A lifetime of such receptions, we are both sorry and humiliated to say, bring poverty with fame, and leave the unselfish recipient without roof of his own, or a shot in the locker for a rainy day.

With no capital but poor health and a shattered body, we find ourselves engaged in a hand-to-hand battle for food and raiment for a platoon of those of our own flesh and blood, and who have higher claims upon our time and labor, than any reform. To the young and the ambitious, large meetings and enthusiastic welcomes may be a consideration; to one who has wife and children and his hair beginning to white, they bring but sad returns. They do not "buy the child a frock" or fill the larder.

Again: We are tired of this jug-handle system, leaving a single arm to give all the blows, and the many quietly enjoying the fight. This large amount of mere profession, becomes tedious—almost repulsive. We are sorry to say, that ninety-nine out of the hundred who attend lectures, and laugh and weep, never seem to care whether he who tells to give an unpopular cause life and interest, is clothed or fed; whether his stage or railroad fare is looked to; whether he lives or dies. They will attend such meetings for a life time without deeming brain-work and time to do it, of any account; nay, they

seem to think their time and attention a most flattering compensation! The man has had an enthusiastic welcome, and is perhaps invited to come again!! Peradventure, a hat may be passed, and less than a cent a-piece, and that contributed by a few, tossed in like a bone to a vagrant dog. Even this process, unless sprung upon the crowd like a trap, will disperse it like a case of small-pox.

Again: We will not longer work for them who do not seem to care a continental for the lecture—only to amuse or instruct themselves. Here is a temperance press in Wisconsin, of conceded ability—the only one between Michigan and the Mississippi—yet not having one subscriber to every thousand inhabitants in the State. Few trials either, are circulated. And yet we talk of Prohibition in Wisconsin!

Finally: We have a right to an honorable discharge from constant platform labor. The editorial harness we never expect to lay off, until the hand is nerveless in death, for the *Chief* will be published for the "Old Guard" who have ever kept step to its music and who give it a tangible "God speed." But those who merely give large houses and enthusiastic receptions, have no claim upon our labor. Would one out of a hundred who attend such meetings, work for the *Chief* with half the faith, energy, and unwavering will with which that labor for the cause, it would have a generous support, and its publishers not be compelled to live a life of galley slavery to sustain one temperance press. If they think in a small matter to travel about and work for others, let them try it. Try it, friends! Leave your families, farms, hire men to do your work, drag round, toil until overworked, have large meetings and enthusiastic receptions, and then return home prostrate, expenses not paid half the time, and time lost.

How many will come and give us a week's work and pay their own expenses, for the enthusiastic reception we could give them? All come?

Now to the law and testimony: Where temperance people do not forget that we work on the farm with our hands for bread, and will take an interest in the circulation of the *Chief*, we shall feel that they are disposed to meet us half way, and visit such localities when possible.

—A rather unusual circumstance occurred at a ploughing match which lately took place at Vaugueray, (Rhône,) a young woman, about nineteen, driving a pair of oxen, presenting herself as one of the competitors. At first, some objections were raised as to her admission, but, under the circumstances of the case, they were set aside. Marie Chirat, the girl in question, had the misfortune to lose her father about ten months ago. He had a lease of a farm at rent of 2000 francs a year, and when he died, left a widow, a little boy and Marie. The daughter, feeling that to quit the farm in the middle of the lease would be the ruin of the family, told her mother not to be cast down, for she would undertake to work the land. She applied herself strenuously to the work, and was soon pronounced to be the best conductor of a plough in the community. That opinion was confirmed at the public competition, as the principal prize was awarded to her. She returned home in triumph to her mother, accompanied by a party of female friends.

—*The Entire PRISON CORRESPONDENCE OF Capt. John Brown*—containing every Letter addressed to him while in Charlestown Jail, by women and men, and his own relatives. "One of the most remarkable collections of Letters in existence."

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THAYER & ELDRIDGE, Publishers.

114 and 116 Washington Street, Boston.

—*THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY*.

IN THE FIFTH VOLUME

In assuming the control of the *Atlantic Monthly*, the new proprietors deem it necessary to spend many words in assurance or promise. The congratulations and good wishes they have received from all parts of the country seem to justify them in the confidence that their own exertions and like efforts of their associates will be accepted by the numerous readers and friends of the Magazine as a warrant that they will do everything in their power to increase its interest, to enlarge its circle of subscribers, and to raise its standard of ability in all departments.

They think it proper to say, simply, that no change will be made in the general character of the magazine; that all the writers whose contributions have established it in the popular favor will continue to do so, and that the relations of the proprietors with authors on both sides of the Atlantic will enable them to add considerably to the variety, interest, and value of its pages.

The Atlantic has never been, and will never be, a sectional journal. Its publishers acknowledge no partiality of language or of literature; and, while they will judge of every article offered them, not by the origin, whence it comes, but by its intrinsic worth, they will at the same time endeavor to maintain its character as a periodical in which earnest thinkers may find expression, unhampered by fear of that narrow-mindedness which what is least, but not deepest, in public opinion would fail to establish.

Price—Three Dollars per annum, or twenty-five cents a number. Upon the receipt of the subscription price, the publishers will mail the work to any part of the United States, prepaid. Subscriptions may begin with either the first or any subsequent number. The postage of the Atlantic is thirty-six cents a year, if prepaid.

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In Salem. (North side of Main Street, four doors East of the Farmers Bank.)

HATS AND CAPS.

In great variety of style and material.

Call and examine his stock, and decide for yourself concerning the quality of his goods, and the remunerability of his prices.

Salem, April 1st, 1860.

SALEM, August 1st, 1860.

We would most respectfully inform you, that we have this day commenced our

GREAT SEMI-ANNUAL</p